614 622 627 both sides. Soon afterwards, through negotiations by some go-betweens, the tension gradually subsided and disappeared. Armed conflict among the Lolo because of a clan feud is very common, sometimes lasting for generations without reconciliation. In Ch'ang-pao's case, however, the feud did not last long because it was not a conflict between two clans. Hsing-min and Ch'ang-pao had a nephew-uncle relationship in the same clan, and any feud within the clan is usually settled according to clan tradition, which stipulates that clan members should not consider each other as enemies. Furthermore, Hu Hsing-min's second wife from the Wu-ch'i family is of the same clan as Wu-ch'i Ku-pao. If she and her family should side with her husband's family to fight against Ku-pao, it would be an intrafamily feud within the Wu-ch'i branch. This kind of hostility, which does not involve one clan against another, divides the strength on each side and so complicates the situation that it could hardly result in a prolonged armed conflict.

614 622 584 587 After the conclusion of Ch'ang-pao's case, the white Lolo subjects [pai-hsing] of the Hu family in Wu-chio, numbering about a hundred households, were concerned about the absence of leadership in the clan; so they got together and decided to arrange a match between Hsing-min's younger cousin [his father's younger brother's son] and Hsing-min's wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih). Hsing-min had no brother, but only three cousins, the sons of his paternal younger uncle. The eldest cousin, Hsing-lun, was already married, while the youngest was still a child. So only the second of the cousins, Hsing-ch'ao, who was fourteen years old, was legally in line to marry his elder cousin's widow. One day, the white Lolo subjects suddenly took Hsing-ch'ao and pushed him into Li-ch'ü shih's room with the intention of forcing a marriage. Li-ch'ü shih, however, had heard the news and slipped away in time to avoid the match. The Lolo people then took Hsing-ch'ao to the house of Wu-ch'i shih, who accepted him. A year later, a baby girl was born. However, it was not long before Wu-ch'i shih died of sickness. Today, her father, Wu-ch'i Shih-t'u, has to stay with her family to take care of the two young grandchildren. [736]

614 622 [624] At present, the ruling power in Wu-chio is entirely in the hands of Li-ch'ü shih, who has been appointed by the Lei-po county government as head of a special pao [ward]. Her steward, the wa-tzu Ts'ai, makes all outside contacts for her and is known as Ts'ao Pao-chang [the ward headman]. The fact that Li-ch'ü shih is able to exert and maintain her power,

is in Chao-chüeh hsien west of Huang-mao-keng, and east of the Mei-ku River. 177 131

In the past, because of the isolation of the various tribes along the Chinese frontier, the Government did not exercise real and complete control over them. These tribes were able to establish their own 624 rules and select their own leaders. After having conquered them, however, the Chinese have tried to win over these frontier people by appointing their leaders to the official posts of t'u-ssu /tribal chief/, t'u-ch'ien-hu /tribal head of 1,000 families/, etc., and to gain their ends through this indirect control. This is also the situation found in some of the Lolo regions, as well as in the Lolo district of Yuen-sui hsien, where likewise those who have been given the title of t'u-ssu do not have the actual functions of the office. But it is not true of Liang- 621 shan where organization is very lax and the people are divided into several independent branches called chia /families/. According to a study made by Mr. Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing, the most important branch in Lei-po hsien is the En-cha chia, also called the Kan P'u-t'ien chia--the combined name for Kan chia and P'u-t'ien chia--which is further divided into 11 branches: K'ung-p'u, Tou-o, Shih-kang, Li-pieh, Keng-erh, Shui-lu, Li-mien, A-chih, /98/ Wu-p'ao (also named Wu-p'o), Nuan-o, etc., thus constituting altogether 12 branches in the Kan P'u-t'ien chia. There are two more chia, the A-cho and A-lo (also named A-lu), which are very ruthless. These branches have always been the chief troublemakers in Lei-po hsien, where the I troubles were consequently the worst of the four hsien of Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing. A-hou, Su-ko, and A-lo constitute the three chief branches in Chao-chüeh and have such substantial power that they once threatened to seize the entire hsien. The I of Ma-pien have always been divided into three groups: the center and left groups, consisting entirely of the members of the Wu-p'o chia, very seldom revolt; the right group alone, with branches called Hou-p'u and Shui-p'u--both belonging to the Kan P'u-t'ien chia--causes more damage. The Lolo of O-pien are said to consist of 13 branches, but they belong in reality to the same clan as the Kan chia. Formerly a member of the Kan chia named "Chao-tzu" had four sons, from whom sprang the 13 branches that live along the border of Ô-pien hsien. They are generally docile and not prosperous, and cause very little damage. I troubles in O-pien have therefore never been as violent as those in Lei-po and Chao-chüeh.

All the chia mentioned above are Heh-I branches, and the names are transliterations of I words. The Wa-tzu belong to their

all the strategic places around Liang-shan, military guard-posts where soldiers were stationed in order to prevent the I from slipping out. Most of these places still retain the names they had as camps, and from this we can judge the strict defense measures taken at the time. In the four hsien of Lei, Ma, Ô, P'ing in Szechwan province there were altogether 138 of these posts, distributed in more than 57 places, and the soldiers numbered something in excess of 10,000. The annual expenditure for I affairs exceeded 300,000 taels of silver and was about half the land revenue of Szechwan province towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty. The importance of this problem may thus be deduced. In spite of these strict defenses the I continued to make trouble, and though no large campaigns were undertaken, clashes on a small-scale were quite frequent in the Ch'ing times. There were quite a few local military officers who gained rewards for military successes and who won the affection and support of the Chinese people. One of these heroes is Liu T'ing-chen, whose shrine stands today on the Lu Mountain in the vicinity of Hsi-ch'ang. The local officials also took advantage of the distance which separated this region from the court. Purposely stirring up troubles, they attacked the I on the slightest pretext, and then made false reports magnifying the smallest success to procure honors and promotion for themselves. Through the years there have been many who have prospered in this manner. Mu-kou-p'o, the one-time boundary division between the Lolo and Chinese in Lei-po hsien, appeared frequently in memorials to the Emperor; it helped not a few officials in Ch'engtu to wear red buttons on their caps /to get promotion/ even though they actually had no idea of its location. /120/ These conditions were of course demoralizing. Chinese influence, however, has been gradually penetrating into Liang-shan: in the west it has extended from Hsi-ch'ang to Chu-heh and in the east from Lei-po to San-leng-kang in Heh-chiao. Some assert that it has already reached Huang-mo-keng. Meanwhile the I can only retreat into the surrounding mountains. In the first year of Hsüan-t'ung's reign, Chao Erh-sun attacked Liang-shan and tried to control the I by establishing at the site of the former garrison posts the walled city of Chao-chüeh hsien. Thus the court's authority was somewhat restored.

In addition to these defense measures and sporadic attacks, the Ch'ing court also attempted to subdue the Liang-shan Lolo through enticement or some form of appeasement. It included the appointment of the I as officials, guards of hills and roads, and attendants. (20)

20. Detailed information concerning the application of these

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methods may be found in Szu-ch'uan-sheng Lei-Ma-O-P'ing t'iao-ch'a-chi /Record of the Investigation of Lei, Ma, O, P'ing of Szechwan Province/ compiled by Ch'ang Lung-ch'ing and others, and published by the West-China Science Institute, Pei-p'ei, /Szechwan/, 24th year of the Chinese Republic, /1935/.

Titles such as t'u-szu, ch'ien-hu /headman of thousand-families/, pai-hu, /headman of hundred families/, etc., were conferred upon the I officials. The official status of an appointee depended directly upon the influence of the branch to which he belonged. Through its inherent appeal, this system might have obtained results elsewhere, but in Liang-shan, where the I are like scattered sand and their branches mutually independent, it is of little use. Furthermore, most of the Heh-I, considering themselves superior and noble, look down upon the Chinese and have little interest in these official posts except for their salary. Devices such as having them protect hills and roads and work as attendants have obtained only slightly better results. During the Ch'ing period, the I were tolerated as long as they did not formally rebel, plunder, or kidnap people, but they were allowed to be arrogant and contemptuous of the Chinese. This explains why later, in the first years of the Chinese Republic, I troubles grew so rampant as to be beyond control.

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In addition to the last battle at Niu-niu-pa under the command of Chao Erh-sun, two other campaigns against the I of Liang-shan during the Ch'ing period are worth mentioning. In the seventeenth year of Tao-kuang's reign, the I of Lei-po began to cause trouble over a negligible incident. The Szechwan Governor-general Yü Pu-yün, with an army of 1,800 militiamen, 3,800 regular soldiers, and 500 garrison soldiers from Chin-ch'uan, led an attack from Lei-po, and going through Wu-chia-pa, Yang-tzu-ch'iao, Ta-ku-tuz and Hsiao-ku-tuz, he entered I-ch'ê and continued into the valley of the Mei-ku River to cut diagonally across Liang-shan. He then withdrew the army from Yüeh-sui, having spread his military influence far and wide. The second attack was in the seventh year of T'ung-chih's reign when Chou Chien-wa, a provincial commander-in-chief, led his army from Hsi-ch'ang into Liang-shan and reached Niu-niu-pa. The fighting lasted long into the night and ended in a rout. His officer, Regiment-commander Yang, was killed in action. Although the losses were high, he was able to pacify the entire mountain and establish a fortress at the intersection, which laid the basis for the building later of the walled